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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[113] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[18] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [18] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

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and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime. Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adolescence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *marsalai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

342 192 [284] koogwí yiju are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usual method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for akí ma (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, akíwoyí ma, in the ground and lashing them to akí fayí (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niema, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas nie (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (foku) on the outside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (momporirí) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas nie room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [35] [352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.